

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05  
H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02  
SS-15 USIA-06 IGA-02 MCT-01 /087 W  
-----071363 191240Z /43

P R 171225Z FEB 78  
FM AMEMBASSY MAPUTO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6705  
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
USMISSION USUN NY  
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MAPUTO 0200

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: MZ, RH  
SUBJECT: RHODESIA: ZANU OFFICIAL EDSON ZVOBGO COMMENTS ON MALTA  
TALKS AND PROBLEMS OF PF UNIFICATION

1. SUMMARY. DCM AND EMBOFF HAD OPPORTUNITY TO TALK WITH EDSON ZVOBGO, DEPUTY PUBLICITY SECRETARY OF ZANU, FOR APPROXIMATELY ONE HOUR ON FEBRUARY 15. ZVOBGO, WHO SAID HE HAD JUST RETURNED TO MAPUTO AFTER ATTENDING MALTA TALKS, WAS IN FRIENDLY AND EFFUSIVE MOOD. ON MALTA TALKS, ZVOBGO SAID U.S. DELEGATION--UNLIKE BRITISH--HAD ACQUITTED ITSELF WELL, BUT THAT SUBSTANTIVELY TALKS WERE A "FLOP". FOUR KEY ISSUES REMAINED UNRESOLVED: POWER OF RESIDENT COMMISSIONER (RC), COMPOSITION OF GOVERNING COUNCIL, ROLE OF UN PEACE KEEPING FORCE, AND GENERAL AMNESTY. UNLESS BRITISH TOOK MORE FLEXIBLE POSITION ON THESE ISSUES, DIFFERENCES BETWEEN US/UK AND PF WOULD REMAIN UNBRIDGABLE. DESPITE LACK OF PROGRESS AT MALTA, ZVOBGO SAID PF WANTED TO CONTINUE TALKS WITH US/UK. ON PF UNITY, ZVOBGO READILY ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THERE HAD BEEN VIRTUALLY NO PRO-  
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GRESS IN EITHER THE POLITICAL R THE MILITARY FIELDS. NEVERTHELESS, ZANU AND ZAPU LEADERS SAW MERIT IN WORKING TOGETHER TO ACHIEVE A SOLUTION TO ZIMBABWE PROBLEM AND PF MARRIAGE WOULD CONTINUE. ZVOBGO ALSO SAID THAT ZANU WAS FULLY AWARE THAT NKOMO'S ARMY WAS RECEIVING LARGE AMOUNTS OF SOVIET MILITARY EQUIPMENT AND APPEARED TO BE PLANNING FOR A ROUND OF CONVENTIONAL WARFARE, POSSIBLY AGAINST ZANU AFTER INDEPENDENCE ZANU, ZVOBGO SAID, HAD PREPARED FOR THIS

POSSIBILITY. END SUMMARY.

2. MALTA TALKS: ZVOBGO SAID THAT MALTA TALKS HAD GONE MUCH BETTER THAN THE GENEVA TALKS, WHICH HE ALSO ATTENDED. THE ATMOSPHERE WAS BUSINESSLIKE BUT RELAXES, AND THE AMERICAN DELEGATION SOCIALIZED WITH PF AFTER FORMAL SESSIONS, UNLIKE BRITISH DELEGATION WHICH KEPT TO ITSELF. OVERALL THE PF WAS PLEASED WITH THE ATTITUDE OF THE AMERICAN DELEGATION BUT MUCH LESS SO WITH THE BRITISH. SUBSTANTIVELY, ZVOBGO DESCRIBED THE TALKS AS A "FLOP". ALTHOUGH THE BRITISH DEMONSTRATED SOME FLEXIBILITY, THE US/UK AND PF FAILED TO REACH AGREEMENT ON THE FOUR KEY ISSUES: THE POWER OF THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER, THE COMPOSITION OF THE GOVERNING COUNCIL, THE ROLE OF UN PEACE KEEPING FORCE AND A GENERAL AMNESTY. FOR ITS PART, THE PF WAS STRONGLY OPPOSED TO: (A) GIVING LORD CARVER "DICTATORIAL POWERS", (B) BEING A MINORITY ON THE GOVERNING COUNCIL, (C) ALLOWING A PEACE KEEPING FORCE TO OPERATE IN ZIMBABWE DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD AND (D) GRANTING A GENERAL AMNESTY OR PARTON TO THOSE WHO HAD COMMITTED ATROCITIES. ZVOBGO SAID THE PF, HOWEVER, WAS WILLING TO PERMIT NON-PF GROUPS TO SIT ON THE GOVERNING COUNCIL AND TO ALLOW THE UN TO COME INTO RHODESIA TO "SUPERVISE ELECTION". IT WAS IN ZANU'S INTEREST THAT THE WORLD SEE THAT "FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS" TOOK PLACE IN ZIMBABWE. UNLESS BRITISH WERE PREPARED TO TAKE MORE FLEXIBLE POSITION ON THESE FOUR ISSUES, THE "WIDE GAP" BETWEEN THE US/UK AND PF WOULD REMAIN "UNBRIDGABLE". DESPITE THE ABSENCE OF PROGRESS ON KEY POINTS AT MALTA, ZVOBGO COMMENTED THAT THE PF FOUND TALKS BENEFICIAL AND IS PREPARED TO MEET AGAIN.

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EM BRITISH ATTITUDES ON INTERNAL SETTLEMENT: ZVOBGO SAID THAT ZANU REMAINS DISPLEASED WITH UK'S REFUSAL TO DENOUNCE THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT AND BELIEVES THAT BRITAIN IS SECRETELY ENCOURAGING AND ADVISING MUZOREWA. IF THERE IS AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT, ZANU WILL BRAND MUZOREWA, SITHOLE AND OTHERS AS TRAITORS AND WILL CONSIDER THEM FAIR TARGETS FOR ATTACK. UNTIL NOW, ZANU HAS REGARDED THEM AS ERRANT "REACTIONARIES".

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05

H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02

SS-15 USIA-06 IGA-02 MCT-01 /087 W

-----104677 210831Z /11

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USMISSION USUN NY

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MAPUTO 0200

4. PF UNITY. ZVOBGO SAID THAT VERY LITTLE HAD BEEN ACHIEVED IN THE UNIFICATION OF ZANU AND ZAPU. THE GREATEST DIFFICULT WAS WITH THE TWO ARMIES (AND THEIR HIGH COMMANDS.) BOTH WERE ORGANIZED DIFFERENTLY AND EMPLOYED DIFFERENT MILITARY AND COMBAT TACTICS. (ZANU INFILTRATED INTO RHODESIA AND LIVED AMONG THE PEOPLE, WHILE ZAPU SENT UNITS IN FOR ONE OPERATION AND DEPARTED THEREAFTER. ZAPU RELIED ON FOREIGN MILITARY ADVISORS, ZANU RELIED ON ITS OWN MEN.) POLITICAL UNIFICATION HAD ALSO FAILED, MAINLY BECAUSE THE TWO GROUPS DID NOT SHARE SAME POLITICAL PHILOSOPHIES. ZVOBGO SAID THAT ZANU CONSIDERS ITSELF A PROGRESSIVE SOCIALIST PARTY MODELED AFTER THOSE IN TANZANIA AND MOZAMBIQUE. ZAPU, ON THE OTHER HAND HAS NOT DEFINED ITSELF, BUT ITS LEADER, JOSHUA NKOMO, AND MANY OF ITS FOLLOWERS WERE PRACTICING CAPITALISTS AND RATHER "FEUDALISTIC."

DESPITE THE DIFFERENCE, ZVOBGO SAID, ZANU AND ZAPU SAW SOME MERIT IN WORKING TOGETHER TO ACHIEVE A RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT AND WOULD CONTINUE TO DO SO IN THE FUTURE. IF THEY CAME TO POWER TOGETHER, THEY WOULD HAVE TO "HAMMER OUT" THEIR DIFFERENCES.

5. NKOMO'S ARMY. IN TALKING ABOUT THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE ZAPU  
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AND ZANU ARMIES, ZVOBGO ADMITTED THAT ZANU WAS FULLY AWARE THAT ZAPU HAD CUBAN AND SOVIET ADVISORS, THAT THE SOVIETS WERE GIVING ZAPU LARGE AMOUNTS OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT AND THAT ZAPU APPEARED TO BE TRAINING THE BULK OF ITS FORCES TO FIGHT A CONVENTIONAL WAR. ZVOBGO SPECULATED THAT ZAPU MIGHT BE DEVELOPING ITS ARMY TO CHALLENGE ZANU AFTER INDEPENDENCE. IF THIS WAS THE CASE, ZANU WAS PREPARED. FOR ITS PART, ZANU DISAPPROVED OF FOREIGN MILITARY ADVISORS WORKING ALONG SIDE ITS CADRE, ZVOBGO SAID. ALTHOUGH CHINESE HAD BEEN PROVIDING ZANU ARMS SINCE 1965, THEY HAD NEVER ONCE REQUESTED TO HAVE THEIR PEOPLE ON THE "FRONT LINES" WITH ZANU.

6. COMMENT: ZVOBGO IS BRIGHT, ARTICULATE AND WELL-EDUCATED INDIVIDUAL. ALTHOUGH WE DO NOT KNOW HOW CLOSE HE IS PERSONALLY TO MUGABE

AND OTHER SENIOR OFFICIALS IN ZANU, WE BELIEVE HIS VIEWS AS EXPRESS-  
ED TO EMBOFFS REFLECT ZANU THINKING.  
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## Message Attributes

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